

JANUARY 27, 1976

# THE MIDEAST AFTER THE VETO

ANNCR: THE GOVERNMENT HERE IN WASHINGTON LOOKS UPON ITS NEGATIVE VOTE IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL MONDAY AS CLEARING THE WAY FOR FURTHER MOVES TOWARD A SETTLEMENT OF MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS. VOA NEWS ANALYST GEORGE HALSEY HAS THESE OBSERVATIONS.

VOICE: THE NUT OF THE AMERICAN POSITION REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST IS THAT CONTINUED MOVEMENT TOWARD SETTLEMENT IS ESSENTIAL. THE ALTERNATIVE IS STAGNATION WHICH CAN QUICKLY LEAD TO FRUSTRATION AND POSSIBLY A RESORT TO FORCE. AND MAINTAINING A MOMENTUM REQUIRES CONTINUING CONTACT AND NEGOTIATION AMONG ALL PARTIES.

THERE IS, OF COURSE, ALREADY A FRAMEWORK FOR THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY -- THE EXISTING SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. IT IS COMMON TO REFER TO THESE RESOLUTIONS BY THEIR NUMBERS - TWO-FOUR-TWO AND THREE-THREE EIGHT, BUT THE NUMBERS ARE MEANINGLESS TO MOST OF US. (OPT) MORE PERTINENT, PERHAPS, IS THE FACT THAT ONE OF THESE RESOLUTIONS, 242 CAME AT THE END OF THE 1967 MIDDLE EAST WAR. IT CALLED FOR BOTH WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THAT CONFLICT, AND AN END TO ALL CLAIMS OF BELLIGERENCY ALONG WITH RESPECT FOR AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF EACH STATE'S SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE. IT SAID EACH STATE IN THE AREA HAS THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES. THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL WAS ASKED TO HELP THE PARTIES IN THE AREA REACH AGREEMENT.

BUT THE WORLD KNOWS THAT PROGRESS WAS SLOW, AND THAT SIX YEARS LATER, IN 1973, THERE WAS ANOTHER CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SECURITY COUNCIL MET, AND ADOPTED THE BRIEF RESOLUTION

KNOWN AS THREE-THREE-EIGHT WHICH ORDERED A CEASE-FIRE, AND TOLD THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO GET ON WITH THE EARLIER RESOLUTION RIGHT AWAY. IT ALSO CALLED FOR IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER APPROPRIATE AUSPICES. THAT RESULTED IN THE BRIEF GENEVA CONFERENCE HELD IN DECEMBER 1973 AND JANUARY 1974. (END OPT)

BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE TWO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ARE THAT ALL PARTIES INVOLVED AGREED TO THEM, AND THAT THEY PROVIDE A VERY FLEXIBLE FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH TO WORK TOWARD A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. (OPT) BECAUSE OF THESE CHARACTERISTICS THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS-- THE FIRST REAL PROGRESS ON THE AREA'S COMPLEX PROBLEMS IN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. AT VARIOUS TIMES, EGYPT, ISRAEL AND SYRIA TOOK COURAGE IN HAND AND WERE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENTS. CONCESSIONS WERE MADE AND BROUGHT OTHER CONCESSIONS. LAND WAS RETURNED ON THE BASIS OF BINDING AGREEMENTS. ATTITUDES BEGAN TO CHANGE.

THE LOGICAL EXPECTATION WOULD BE FOR THIS PROCESS TO CONTINUE. (END OPT) BECAUSE OF THE FLEXIBILITY OF THIS ORIGINAL FRAMEWORK PROVIDED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, DIFFERENT WAYS ARE AVAILABLE TO SEEK AGREEMENTS: THE LARGE-SCALE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS ONE, NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL STATES THROUGH A THIRD-PARTY IS ANOTHER. AN INFORMAL MEETING TO HANDLE SOME PROBLEMS OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS STILL A THIRD POSSIBILITY -- AND ONE WHICH THE UNITED STATES FEELS MIGHT BE THE <sup>2</sup>BEST TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN GENEVA.

THE IMPORTANT POINT IS THAT ALL THIS FLEXIBILITY WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST IF THE RESOLUTION DEBATED IN THE U-N SECURITY COUNCIL THIS WEEK HAD BEEN ADOPTED. MORE THAN THAT, IT WOULD HAVE SET

UP CONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS THAT NOT ALL PARTIES COULD AGREE TO. AND IT IS PRETTY HARD TO SEE HOW THAT KIND OF SITUATION COULD LEAD TO ANYTHING POSITIVE.

SO, NOW THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS CONCLUDED ITS TWO-WEEK DEBATE. ALL PARTIES HAVE HAD THEIR SAY, AND THE UNITED STATES HAS LISTENED AND UNDERSTOOD HOW AND WHY EACH PARTICIPANT TOOK THE STAND IT DID. IT HOPES THE OPPOSITE IS EQUALLY TRUE. CERTAINLY, NOW IS THE TIME TO LOOK AHEAD.

AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN REFERRED MONDAY TO THE LONG-NEGLECTED PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINIAN'S FUTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS, IN ITSELF, MARKS A NEW REALIZATION -- A REALIZATION THAT PALESTINIAN INTERESTS INVOLVE MUCH MORE THAN THE REFUGEE PROBLEM REFERRED TO IN THAT 1967 RESOLUTION. BUT THEY HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED, NOT IN ISOLATION, BUT IN THE CONTEXT OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. AND NO ONE DISPUTES THAT THAT'S THE GOAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE QUESTION TO LOOK AT NOW IS HOW BEST TO GET THERE.

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